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ABSTRACT

Interviews with 48 primary and secondary teachers in New Zealand provided comparisons of the career patterns of male and female teachers. The respondents taught at urban and rural schools and had a variety of status levels, from assistant teacher to principal. Respondents' ages ranged from under 25 to 55 years. The interviews were informal and wide-ranging, covering information given by teachers on: (1) biographical data; (2) entry into teaching; (3) mobility in the profession; (4) encouragement to seek promotion; (5) constraints on career development; (6) critical points in careers; (7) organization of household tasks; (8) impact of job-related regulations on career patterns; (9) inservice courses; (10) involvement in teacher organizations; (11) methods of job appointment; (12) sex roles in school positions; (13) opinions about women holding senior positions; (14) opinions about women as principals; and (15) future plans for teaching. The career paths showed several major differences, the most obvious being the career breaks taken by women teachers for child rearing and the subsequent damage to their eligibility for promotion. Men pursued a more aggressive method in planning career steps and in applying for positions. The men had a far greater awareness of the promotion process and took advantage of inservice courses, while the women's responses to professional involvement were essentially passive. (FG)

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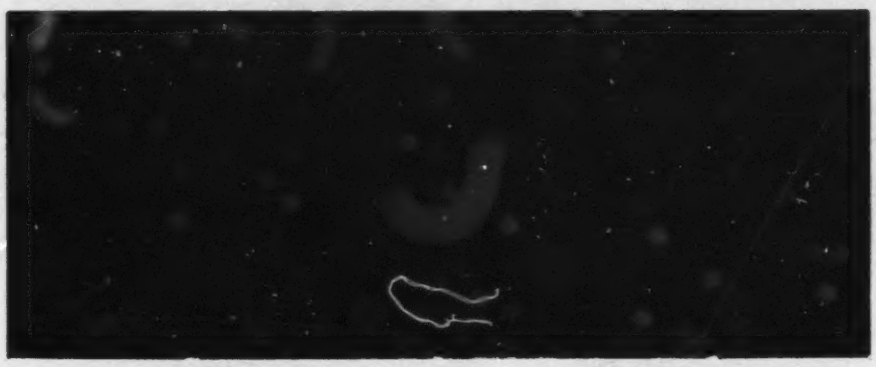

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A COMPARISON OF CAREER PATTERNS OF MEN AND WOMEN TEACHERS

A paper presented at the first National Conference of the New Zealand Association for Research in Education, Victoria Unviersity of Wellington, 7-10 December 1979.

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A Comparison of Career Patterns of Men and Women Teachers

An analysis of case study material from a sample of primary and secondary teachers in New Zealand State schools. This paper examines that material, obtained from the interviews, which is relevant to the comparison of career patterns of men and women teachers.

Women are under-represented in senior positions in the primary and secondary teaching services. It is said that this is because women don't apply for positions because they aren't interested in promotion but this is a gross over-simplification of a complex situation. Many questions need to be investigated and in 1979 a teacher career and promotion study was launched to explore the career and promotion structure within teaching and investigate the constraints which prohibit teachers attaining their full career potential.

One phase of the study has been to conduct case-study interviews with a representative sample of teachers throughout New Zealand. The case-study method was thought suitable for obtaining detailed information from a variety of teachers, within the framework of time and resources which governed the study. The researcher travelled to primary and secondary schools and interviewed an equal number of men and women teachers from four age groups - under 25, 30 - 35, 40 - 45, 50 - 55. The respondents were selected from all types of schools (Appendix Table 1) and chosen on the basis of their age at the time of interview. A balance of status levels was also sought. (Appendix Table 3.) The interviews were conducted in private and taped, with the respondent's permission. Interviewing time varied from one hour to nearly two, with the older teachers tending to take longer as their career experience covered a longer period. All teachers proved extremely co-operative and the discussions were often wide-ranging for the teachers had many personal experiences to contribute.

The form of the interview consisted of a brief biographical data sheet and the in-depth interview which followed a checklist covering nine topics. These were: The time profile (which covered career moves from first entry), identification of critical points in their career, constraints on career development both personal and from observations of other teachers, adequacy of regulations, membership of teacher and community organisations, in-service course attendance history, opinions and experience of methods of appointment and grading, sex roles in teaching positions and opinions on women in senior positions, and the respondents' thoughts about their future career (either in or out of teaching).

Biographical Data

In addition to identifying respondents by age and sex and school type the biographical data sheet covered their present position, time at present school, salary step, length and details of service, mobility (number of schools taught at), qualifications (when teaching commenced and those gained since), marital status, membership of teachers' organisations, and in-service and vacation course attendance.

The differences between men and women on the above variables were not generally pronounced but this is to be expected with a sample of only 24 teachers of each sex.

The most pronounced difference between the sexes was in marital status where 21 of the 24 men teachers were presently married compared with 11 of the 24 women. There were 3 single men (all under 25 and primary) and 10 single women (9 in the under 25 and 30 - 35 age groups of primary and secondary and one primary in the 50 - 55 group). Two women were widowed and one separated.

There is some difference between men and women in length of service, number of schools taught at in New Zealand and time at present school. Men have, on the average, taught for two and a-half years longer than women, and at more schools. They have also spent longer at their present school.

There were the expected differences between the services in qualifications although four secondary teachers (two men and two women) did not have a degree or equivalent. In the primary area three women and no men began teaching with a degree, while seven men and three women had some units.

More men than women had undertaken further study since beginning primary teaching (6 men, 2 women), but in secondary the numbers were equal (4).

Teachers were asked what teacher organisations they belonged to and to rate their degree of involvement in NZEI or PPTA to which all teachers belonged. An equal number of both sexes (14) rated their involvement as low in that they belonged to but never or seldom attended meetings. More women had medium involvement than men but more men (4 men, 1 woman) rated their involvement as high. More men belonged to other teacher related organisations such as Status associations, eg, Principals, STJC's Association, etc, or subject associations, eg, Science Teachers Association.

In-service Course attendance history proved a memory exercise for the older teachers and the estimates of number of courses attended was vague. One maxim held for all teachers irrespective of sex. The higher the status position the higher the number of courses attended, status being a more important variable than age. The more prestigious residential courses had been attended by more men (12) than women (10). The number of residential courses attended by men was also higher (28 men, 24 women) but the female figure was inflated by one secondary principal who had attended 12 residential courses. In the primary area women had attended only half as many residential courses as men. Although some recollections were rather vague it would seem that more men attended more two-day and over (non-residential) courses than women, especially in the primary service but that attendance at one day courses was about the same. It would have been revealing to ascertain whether course attendance preceded or followed rises in status positions but this was not possible from the data base.

Vacation courses, run by the Teachers Refresher Course Committee, with costs met by the teacher (apart from a travel subsidy) had been attended by seven men and six women; again those with higher status being the main attenders. Men attended many more vacation courses with two male primary DPs being inveterate attenders, one at 18 and another at 10 courses.

Entry into Teaching

Most primary teachers went into teaching straight from school. They had always wanted to be teachers and many said they had not considered anything else. Another strong trend, especially with men teachers, was family connections with the profession, in one case for three generations. Three of the older teachers had come into teaching from other occupations because they thought teaching would be more rewarding.

Entry for secondary teachers was generally after the completion of a degree. However their reason for choosing teaching was often that there was no other avenue open to them. They had not commenced university with teaching aims and of those who went through university on a studentship, several admitted that they took up the studentship in order to be paid while at university and therefore had to go into teaching to pay back their bond. The parental link was again strong, as with the primary teachers. Of the teachers over forty, nine had pursued other careers before coming into teaching. Two of the four women entered teaching at age thirty-five when their families were established.

Across the two services a genuine commitment to teaching was the prime reason for entry but this commitment appeared stronger with the primary teachers.

Mobility

Teachers were asked to trace their moves since commencing teaching. For some this entailed a detailed list of up to 15 schools for reasons varying from country service (applicable to both primary and secondary) to not liking the deputy principal. Generally moves within the profession were on account of promotion but with married women lateral moves were dictated by their husband's employment. Men would tend to return to an urban centre because of home ownership and their children's education.

By the time male teachers had reached the 30 - 35 age group they were settling down, buying a house and establishing their properties, wanting to spend time with their young families and generally putting down roots. Older men teachers were able to trace their return from country teaching to their thirties and those interviewed in the 40 - 45 group were well established in homes and careers. Another reason which brought three of the men back from country schools was their wives' dissatisfaction with country life. In two cases the husband had been happy to stay but had moved for his wife's sake. Teachers of both sexes and from all age groups gave "to be near to the family" (ie, parents) as a reason for coming back to an area after Teachers College or country service. In one case a male teacher had deliberately moved away from an area to get his wife away from her parents.

Proximity to a university was a reason for moves by some teachers, especially men, who had begun teaching with an incomplete degree. Many teachers had had teaching experience overseas - some before coming to New Zealand (as in the case of one secondary teacher who had taught in Britain, South Africa and Canada), some had taught for a period in Britain while visiting relatives, while some younger teachers had taught overseas for experience (one primary woman did a two-year term in Singapore and a secondary man and his wife took up positions in Japan). One quarter of the secondary teachers interviewed had trained in Britain and emigrated to New Zealand. Some moves between the services occurred as four secondary teachers were primary trained or had taught in primary schools at some stage. There had been no movement in the opposite direction, from secondary to primary.

No women teachers with children had held their positions continuously. Of the 12 women teachers with children, eight returned via part-time positions or periods of relieving before taking up a full-time position. Two were widowed or separated and went straight back to full-time teaching out of financial necessity. The remaining two women had done teacher training after having their children. The part-time or short term relieving avenue was preferred by women to modify return to full-time teaching.

Other reasons for moving were because of sporting or recreational commitments (generally younger teachers of both sexes) or personal relationships (such as a broken engagement or incompatibility with staff members).

The most important variable in teacher mobility was sex, with men teachers making more moves and for a greater variety of reasons. Differences were also apparent between the services because secondary teachers have greater opportunity for internal promotion within the school whereas primary teachers generally have to change schools for promotion. Frequency of moves was related to age and status to some extent, with those in higher status positions having more moves. Personal situation and preference also dictated whether a teacher settled or continued to change schools.

Promotion Encouragement

Teachers were asked whether their decisions to move and apply for promotion were their own or made as a result of influence from someone else. Most married teachers mentioned discussion with their spouse before considering a move but, when questioned further, some recalled that other significant encouragement had been received before they applied for promotion. This encouragement often came from one person and covered many of the promotion moves in their career. Women teachers could trace their promotion moves to this one person's encouragement (a principal or inspector) while men said they applied for promotion of their own accord and thought this natural. It appeared that women seldom applied for promotion without a nudge and of the women in senior positions all but one had received substantial encouragement from a mentor - in every case but one it was a male mentor. With teachers over thirty only one of the 18 men mentioned encouragement being influential in his applications for promotion while ten women mentioned receiving this support. Six of the remaining eight women had not sought promotion, one had a teacher husband which left only one primary woman who had actively pursued promotion on her own.

It would appear, from this evidence, that women have different expectations of career movement than do men. Men follow a more aggressive policy of actively seeking promotion while women need encouragement from an authoritative source before making a move. This does not mean that women do not want promotion but that they lack the confidence to actively seek it.

Critical Points in Career

An examination of critical points in their careers, that is, times when important decisions had to be made, brought forth some interesting information from the teachers. Some found it hard to name any point in their career when a critical decision was required while others had difficulty in limiting these to the maximum of three which was set. Teachers treated this as a very personal question and gave it considerable thought. Their stated critical decisions were not always related to the career moves they had outlined earlier.

An attempt to quantify the types of critical points showed that for many teachers (23 mentions) the decision to move from one area or school to another was regarded as a critical point in their career. For some the eventual move had worked out well but for others it had not and they were able to indulge in "what might have been". This decision to move could

occur at any time and was not connected with promotion or confined to particular age groups, however it was more prevalent among men. Whether to stay in teaching was the second most frequent critical decision. All age groups and both sexes mentioned this. When it is borne in mind that over a quarter of the teachers identified whether to stay in teaching as a critical decision they had made, the wellbeing of the profession must be in some doubt.

Coming back into teaching was a critical decision for women who had had children and for two men who had had time away from teaching in other occupations. The fourth most common decision was directly related to promotion but often had mobility connections, for example, whether to move into the town for a senior position in a larger school. Five teachers said they had never made any critical decisions. Four of these were secondary teachers and three were men under twenty-five. Other career related critical decisions mentioned concerned caring for parents, completing or ceasing study, or were of a personal nature. Apart from the decision to come back into teaching, and to a lesser extent the decision to move school or area, there were no points where men and women differed to any great extent.

Constraints on Career Development

Teachers were asked to identify constraints which they felt had affected their careers. Just over half of the teachers (11 men and 14 women) thought they had experienced no constraints. This was especially so in the under-25 age group with all the women and three of the men saying "none". Of the other three men one mentioned staying close to a city for cultural access (which meant he would miss country service and have to suffer the age bar), another to be near elderly parents, while the third said he had to consider his wife's career and move where she could get a job too. The remaining teachers who felt they had experienced no constraints were spread across the other age groups. Sometimes the "None" was qualified by: As long as the children stay healthy (from a woman); now the children have grown up (also from women); not career minded and can cope with present situation (women again); and as long as remain in city area (both sexes).

The most noticeable difference between the sexes was with the constraint of home and family - named by 8 men and 7 women. Although both sexes identified this situation as a constraint it was for different reasons. The women saw a home and family and their husband's career as taking priority and this was enough for them to cope with. Their mobility was restricted

to some extent but it was the constraint of time and energy which was the greatest problem. The small financial gain for additional responsibility was mentioned by some as not worth the effort involved.

With men teachers the 'mortgage millstone' was the main constraint. Having bought a house they were reluctant to sell up and shift to take up a promotion which could be worth only a few hundred dollars a year more. One man had seven children and would not have been able to replace his large house in a rural South Island area with anything up north of a comparable price. Another constraint identified was children's education. Men teachers had deliberately moved to the city to give their children access to city schools and the combination of mortgage and children's education would tie them to a city area for a considerable period. For these men the move to the city had been carefully planned. One secondary deputy principal had chosen a residential area and then listed all the schools within a reasonable commutable radius to allow him time to spend with his family. When a vacancy came up at one of these schools he applied, won the job, and bought a house in the chosen area. He plans to remain at that school until he can win a principal's position within his defined commutable distance. Another man secondary teacher decided on the schools he wanted and then moved to the city for a PR position at one of his chosen schools, bought a house and settled his children in at nearby schools.

Parents, own or spouse's, had been a reason for moving to a particular area and this was also regarded as a constraint by some teachers who said they had been unable to apply for promotion positions in other areas.

All teachers were asked if they felt men or women teachers had more constraints operating against them. This proved an awkward question for younger teachers as some had never thought about it before; all the primary under-25 women said they didn't know. Respondents were asked to generalise from knowledge of their colleagues. It was significant that six men but no women thought that men had more constraints. Constraints the men mentioned were the prohibitive costs of moving a family, and the house millstone.

The male perception of house and family ties providing a constraint was not shared by the women interviewed. Three-quarters of the female sample came out strongly for women having the greater constraints while the remaining quarter were generally unsure and two thought that there was no difference between the sexes. The reasons given for stating "women" were that they had

to cope with family, husband, their own career and (mentioned by some), bias against women teachers in senior positions. It was felt that for a married woman to advance in teaching she had to overcome tremendous difficulties. Over half the men also thought that women in general had more constraints, with the double bind of family and career. One young man added that he thought women were discriminated against in teaching.

Organisation of Household Tasks

The attitude of the teacher's spouse was considered an important factor in career development. Most married teachers of both sexes mentioned how supportive their wife/husband had been. Only two women had encountered any great opposition from their spouses. One to the extent that she was told by her husband to choose between him and teaching - she chose teaching. The other's husband was unco-operative and always grizzling about the time his wife spent on preparation of schoolwork, attending meetings, etc, but he liked the money she brought in.

The support received from a partner varied from helping with the dishes (from husbands) to giving up a career as one husband did in order to move to an area where the teacher wife was able to gain a position. There was no work for a computer engineer in rural South Island so he took a semi-skilled job. Men tended to think of their wives' support in terms of willingness to move house as promotion dictated.

Nine of the men teachers were married to teachers but this applied to only two of the women teachers interviewed. In cases where the man was in the 30 - 35 age group the wife was teaching part-time as the family were young. The three secondary men under 25 all had wives in secondary teaching too. One primary man (50 - 55) had always taught with his wife and when they were in country schools together the baby was in the schoolhouse next door or in the staffroom while the toddler was in the classroom.

Questions about the allocation of household tasks revealed a definite generation difference. The under-25 and 30 - 35 groups for both sexes had no role definitions in their domestic arrangements. Each did what was necessary so that men often cooked and ironed and women gardened, from choice. Those men with wives at home with young children said they tried to do what they could to help their wives, which often meant coping with the children. There was only one case where sharing did not apply in the younger groups. A woman secondary teacher (30 - 35) who had not begun

teaching until her children were at school mentioned that her husband had been "spoilt rotten" at the beginning and still expected this to some extent.

In the over-40 groups, traditional roles applied for most teachers in that women were responsible for the running of the household. Some of the married women teachers resented this. They had been happy to do everything while at home but when they returned to teaching they had had to take a stand to get the help they needed to manage a home and a job. Most mentioned that their children gave considerable help too. It was noticeable that the women in high status positions generally had home help of some kind.

The men teachers over 40 (with only two exceptions) expected their wives to run the house, or had clearly defined areas of responsibility. One of the exceptions (now in the 50 - 55 age group) said he and his wife "had always shared everything fifty-fifty" and thought it was good for their children to see household tasks done by the husband and wife together. The remaining 10 men ranged from those who did what they could within the time they had available, to the stated male chauvinist (50 - 55) whose wife had always run the home and the family and who felt that all women should do this.

Some of the reasons for the demarkation line between the younger and older groups can be attributed to changing social mores. Many of the younger teachers had had experience of flatting (sometimes mixed) where everyone took turns and felt that they had carried these habits into their marriage situation.

Regulations

Teachers were asked where they would go for information about regulations and to what degree the existing regulations fitted the circumstances of men and women teachers. A further area explored was whether any changes were thought necessary. Here teachers gave instances of personal encounters with the regulations and their grievances. Problems included superannuation, funeral leave, sick leave, study leave and travel allowances.

When focussing on the career patterns of teachers, a particularly revealing area was the difference between men and women teachers in their knowledge of the sources of information. Most women teachers either did not know where

to find out information or asked their principal or deputy. Very few women knew where to look up regulations. Of those who did the most frequently mentioned were the NZEI Handbooks (for primary teachers) and the Secondary School Boards Manuals (referred to by the secondary teachers). Men teachers were generally familiar with a variety of sources of information which they had used as required. It could be inferred from this that men teachers are much more aware of regulations than are women teachers and therefore in a better position to use them to advantage.

The area where most comments were made was retraining (primary) and reclassification (secondary). The regulations (at the time of interviewing) stated that any teachers out of teaching for more than two years must undertake a retraining course at their own expense or, in the case of secondary teachers, return to list A for reclassification. There are a variety of modifications to this dictum; for example, a period of part-time or relieving teaching may be accepted and the teacher reinstated. Primary teachers (women) are allowed one year maternity leave (which allows a period of three years in all in which to return to teaching). Some women teachers thought that after bringing up children retraining was unnecessary while a few thought it would be helpful to catch up on teaching techniques and practice changes. A senior woman secondary teacher thought that reclassification was a move against women which she described as "petty and immature". She felt that a five-year period would "make much more sense". Another woman in a rural primary school thought that having to undertake a retraining course penalised country women, who were unable to get to the centres where the courses were held.

Retraining also affected teachers of both sexes who went overseas or who left teaching for another job. A few of the younger teachers felt that the two-year period was too short a time and they would give up teaching to go overseas or take a break, in another job. They said they would have preferred to be able to come back to teaching but were not prepared to retrain or be reclassified. The issue of recognition of overseas teaching experience or training was unclear for many teachers.

Nearly half the teachers (11 men and 9 women) thought the existing regulations were adequate for men and women teachers.

Teacher Organisation Involvement

Teachers were given an opportunity to give their opinions of their respective organisation (New Zealand Educational Institute for primary and Post-Primary Teachers Association for secondary). The connection between NZEI and PPTA involvement and career advancement was an area of interest. Teachers were asked if they had heard the view that some teachers became involved to further their own teaching career. Some teachers had heard of this 'visibility' aspect and thought this more prevalent among men teachers. This view was expressed by both men and women teachers. One woman teacher did mention that she knew of some women who used PPTA to advance their own careers.

The current degree of involvement has been covered in the biographical data section. In the interview it was discovered that there were teachers who had had a high degree of involvement in the past but were now far less involved. For these teachers (generally primary) the period of higher involvement occurred when they were younger and/or teaching in country areas. Most of the primary men over 30 commented on the importance of NZEI involvement to them while principal of a country school - it kept them in touch.

Generalisations by the respondents about those they knew who are actively involved in the teacher organisations resulted in the following profiles:
NZEI - older men who are principals or deputy principals
PPTA - generally male (there were no common age or status characteristics), some common personality traits were also identified.

Teachers were keen to contribute their opinions of their organisation and these were not always complimentary but it is not the purpose of this paper to study teacher perceptions of the functions of NZEI and PPTA.

Membership of community organisations is another area where it was thought there may be a connection between the involvement of teachers and their career pattern. When questioned most teachers said they felt the need to follow their own interests and hobbies outside school hours, well away from the school area. Some teachers had found that as they had advanced in teaching they had had to give up some of their outside school activities through lack of time. Many of those who had done country service in a rural area thought that there, membership of local organisations was essential - to get to know the parents and children. A few of the teachers

at city schools, who lived in the school area, found that the informal contacts with both parents and children solved many classroom problems. There were no similarities of sex, age or status from those who gave opinions.

In-service Courses

Attendance history has been covered briefly in the biographic data. Generally teachers found the courses helpful and a worthwhile experience both from curriculum knowledge gained and social contact aspects. They found meeting other teachers and discussing problems particularly useful, especially those teachers in the smaller primary schools. Some teachers, especially the older ones, tended to be critical of content and course personnel. Some of the women who had come back into teaching mentioned how helpful the courses had been in updating their subject knowledge.

Of particular interest to this study were the teachers' perceptions of how, or by whom, they were nominated for courses. Only a superficial view can be obtained from this information as such a variety of courses had been attended over differing career lengths. The usual recollection was that the course had been suggested by the principal (often head of department in secondary schools). Men teachers (primary) who had been principals of small country schools were able to select themselves. A slight difference between the sexes was apparent. Men appeared to be more aware of the courses offering and often asked to go while women teachers were not always aware of the programme offering or waited to be asked.

Some comments expressed were: "Courses are hogged by senior teachers, the same people always go" (secondary male under 25); "I've never been chosen to go on an outside (as against school-based) course and wonder if it's just the pushy people who get on courses" (primary woman 30 - 35). That 'pushy' people seem to get on courses was mentioned by other teachers as was the corollary, that quieter people tend to miss out. (The interviewer did not press respondents for a sex generalisation on 'pushy' and 'quieter' teachers.)

Methodsof Appointment

In the primary school system at present teachers are graded by an Inspector. The grade mark they receive is used when applying for positions. The higher the grading held the better the chance of appointment. In the

secondary school system grading was abolished in 1973. Appointments are made on the evidence supplied by the applicant. This is an over-simplified account of the procedures which operate in the two systems. Earlier work in the Career and Promotion study showed that the majority of PR and senior appointments are internal, ie, made from within the school.

In the case studies teachers were asked for their feelings about the appointments system and their experiences when seeking positions. The comments in response to these questions will not be covered fully in this paper. Most were personal experiences about encounters with the 'system'. There was no sex generalisation possible from their comments.

The higher the status of the teacher the more experience he/she had had when applying for positions and going for grading. These comments, often critical, were common to both sexes and relevant to the particular system operating within their service. References were made to nepotism and being "known". Teachers felt that to get a primary appointment you need to be "known" by inspectors while in secondary teaching it was felt important for the principal to be aware of you.

Only those primary teachers applying for D grade principal positions and the three senior positions in secondary teaching are required to have interviews and then only those on the short-list. This meant that only one primary man and five secondary teachers (two men and three women) were interviewed by an Appointments Board. The questions asked at an interview are supposed to be the same for all candidates although one secondary woman who was being interviewed for a PR position mentioned she had been asked a question about her children which her principal had blocked as not being relevant.

Sex-Roles in School Positions

The responses to the question "Are there 'male' and 'female' roles in your school?" usually mentioned that things were changing now. Whereas in the past roles had been clearly defined there was now no strong delineation. Seventeen teachers stated that there were no defined roles or subject enclaves in their school. Next in order of mentions was the female-associated reading (primary) and English/Languages (secondary). The male-associated Maths and Science received fewer mentions than the male-

associated Physical Education and sport. Clearly rugby and soccer were not seen as an activity for women. (There was only one mention of women's association with netball - perhaps an indicator of sports priorities with New Zealand teachers.) Seven primary teachers (both sexes) said that women predominated in the junior school. A further seven mentions (by mainly primary teachers) noted that men predominate in principal and deputy principal positions and six secondary teachers noted that head of department and positions of responsibility are generally held by men. The other areas noted were women teaching Home Economics and being responsible for social organisation (ie, morning teas etc) and men predominating in country schools and handling discipline problems.

The really interesting point emerging from these responses was that of the 17 teachers who said there were no sex-defined roles in their school, 13 (three-quarters) were men. It would appear that men are not as perceptive (or sensitive?) as women when assessing the situation. Nearly equal numbers of men and women noted women-related roles but with the men-related roles there were 10 mentions by men teachers and 21 by women teachers. Clearly women are taking notice of a situation which men are accepting without comment.

Opinions of Women in Senior Positions

The attitudes of teachers to the advancement of women in the profession has an influence on the career aspirations of women. Respondents were asked their feelings about women occupying senior positions in schools. Twenty-three teachers (10 men and 13 women - almost half the sample) approved of this. They said women were capable of occupying senior positions and that women of ability should be able to reach the top. Many mentioned the desirability of a balance of the sexes in the most senior positions but some cautioned against tokenism. Others spoke of the importance of women at the top as role models and to express the female point of view. While some approved of the idea they expressed reservations: "As long as they can cope," "they would have to have emotional stability," "societal attitudes don't help," "depends upon the capabilities of the person," "up to DP would be all right." Two of the younger primary teachers thought that women were essential as STJCs (Senior Teacher Junior Classes). Eleven teachers (8 men, 3 women) thought that the best person should have the position and that their sex was immaterial.

Generally teachers were in favour of women in senior positions. There was little difference in the responses from men and women teachers. Slightly more women showed unqualified approval than did men and more men considered that the sex of the teacher was irrelevant. Two of the older primary men, while approving the idea, added "few women apply" and "women don't want jobs - they don't bother". The only real disapproval came from a primary woman assistant teacher (30 - 35) who pointed out from her experience "senior women can't cope with responsibility - authority goes to their head - they become domineering and authoritarian".

Women as Principals

Teachers were asked what they thought were the qualities of a good principal. The wide variety of responses covered the areas of organisation, communication, relations with staff and students, leadership and many more. There was little connection between the sex of the teacher and the types of qualities mentioned. What did stand out from the responses of both men and women teachers was the almost universal use of the male pronoun. When this was pointed out it was hastily corrected, but it was apparent that for most teachers the principal was very much a "he".

In response to the question "Would you work at a school with a woman principal?" 18 teachers (12 women, 6 men) showed enthusiasm for the idea. For a few their opinion was based on previous experience of teaching at schools which had women principals. Four teachers thought it would be alright as long as the woman was efficient and did the job well; 17 said they wouldn't mind and a further five were unsure. Of the four teachers with negative responses (1 man, 3 women) two women expressed preference for a man while one man and one woman (the same person who did not like women in senior positions) said they would avoid a school with a woman principal.

It would appear that with 37 teachers responding positively to the idea of a woman principal and five not committing themselves, any capable woman principal would not encounter a great deal of hostility from her staff. Those teachers who were most enthusiastic quoted from previous experience of women principals both in New Zealand and overseas.

Future Thoughts About Teaching

The future plans of this sample did nothing to allay the current concern about retention of teachers. Nine of the 12 teachers in the under-25 age group said they would leave within the year. Altogether 15 teachers (8 men, 7 women - almost a third of those interviewed) indicated that they did not intend to remain in teaching. Their reasons varied. Six (3 of each sex and all in the younger age groups) planned to go overseas to work, but not to teach. Five planned to take up other careers (4 of these were men) and four (1 man and 3 women) wanted a break from teaching and were looking around. These people found that to give their best to teaching was a great strain and they wanted time out.

It was thought the aspirational level of men and women teachers would provide a useful comparison but from this sample there was little significant difference between the sexes in this aspect. Twelve teachers (5 men, 7 women) were not seeking promotion and wished to stay at their present level although one of these, a man in the 50-55 age group, was thinking of giving up his PR2 to someone younger. None of this group held senior positions. A quarter of the sample (6 men, 6 women) while not actively seeking promotion did not discount the possibility that they might apply for something higher but it depended on what came along.

Only nine teachers (5 men, 4 women) were looking ahead and seeking promotion positions. Two secondary men, both DPs, had applied for principal's positions. They were both in the 40-45 group but, as one pointed out, he would not want to be a principal for the next 20 years so would consider the Inspectorate or Teachers College. The other three men who were primary teachers, one already a principal, planned to advance; with the principal looking for higher graded schools. (Principal of a large intermediate normal school is the highest school position to aspire to in primary teaching.) Of the four women looking higher one was already a principal (secondary); one a deputy principal (also secondary), however her husband's career would impose a mobility constraint; one, an STJC in a large school, had been applying for DP positions but at 50 - 55 felt that her age was against her. The last teacher, who was in the 30 - 35 primary group, was already a B3 and aspiring to a principal's or Teachers College position. She was also the only woman who had not advanced because of a male mentor.

From the evidence the only difference between the men and women teachers was that slightly more women were not seeking promotion and the men, by a difference of only one, had higher goals. No generalisations can be made from this data and it is hoped that the results from the questionnaire survey of a 5% sample of teachers will throw further light on the area of level of aspiration of men and women teachers.

Career Comparisons

Teachers have different career patterns dictated by family and personal commitments. A pattern of school (university), Teachers College, with teaching until retirement will be followed by few teachers. In this study the variations in entry time and the variety of exits and re-entries showed that each teacher followed a very different career path. The time out for child rearing for women teachers was one major difference in the overall career patterns of men and women teachers. Nine of the women in the sample had had a career break through child rearing and three others had come into teaching after having children.

In this study the data from the 48 in-depth interviews has been quantified, where possible, to identify trends. The informal nature of the interview meant that teachers were not asked questions from a standardised schedule and discussion ranged over the nine topic areas. Generalisations by sex, age, status or service (ie, primary or secondary) have been made, where appropriate, for career comparisons but the limitations of the sample size must be kept in mind. The teachers interviewed represented all status levels and therefore women who have achieved senior positions are represented in almost the same numbers as men. (Appendix Table 1.) This does not reflect the general pattern in either service where men predominate in senior positions. In 1979 10 per cent of all secondary principals and 17 per cent of all deputy principals were women. In the primary service women were five per cent of principals and 12 per cent of deputy principals. The sample contained a higher proportion of married men than married women but it is not possible to check this for typicality as there are no reliable records of teachers' marital status.

The career paths of men and women teachers in this study have shown certain major differences apart from the obvious time out for child rearing by half the women. Men have made more moves and those in the age groups over 30 have a common pattern of country school teaching when families are young and the planned move back to an urban area for promotion, house

purchase, and children's secondary education. By the time most of the men teachers were forty they identified the constraint of home and family and their future promotion view was from this home base.

The married women also felt the career constraint of home and family but for different reasons from the men. For them this constraint was in terms of the time and energy which their domestic responsibilities required. It was noticeable that those women who had high status positions had domestic help. Almost two-thirds of all those interviewed (including over half the male sample) thought that of the sexes women had more constraints operating against them when pursuing a teaching career. The 'double bind' of career and family was seen as an obstacle that women needed to overcome if they were to advance in the profession.

It was noticeable that there was a sex difference in following promotion. Men, in general, pursued a more aggressive policy of planning career steps and applying for positions on their own initiative. Women, on the other hand, could identify a mentor who had given encouragement and this mentor was usually male. It would appear that women lack the confidence to follow a promotion path of their own accord. While most married teachers identified their spouse as a giver of support there was again a sex difference in the support received. The male notion of support seemed to be that their wives wanted them to advance and were prepared to cope with changes of residence and the children. Women teachers identified spouse support more as helping with the household tasks as well as encouragement in their career aspirations.

It could be said that, in general, men teachers are more career orientated than women. They appear to have a far greater awareness of the promotion process. Evidence from this study shows that men have a greater knowledge of the regulations operating and where to look for information. They are more aware of the in-service course programme and make an effort to be included on courses while the women tend to wait to be asked. Men are also more involved in the teacher organisations.

Teacher perceptions of the appropriate roles for each sex in school positions has a bearing on the career aspirations of women. Most men saw little sex stereotyping of positions or subjects taught and thought that today women and men are treated the same. Women, however, saw a slightly different scene, with male areas still evident. There was a climate of approval for women to be represented at all levels in teaching and little objection to

the idea of women principals (despite the widespread use of the male pronoun when discussing the characteristics of a good principal).

The men and women interviewed showed little difference in aspirational levels. While some women were wanting to advance some men were planning to remain at their present level. A clue to why women are presently under-represented at senior levels could be the lack of awareness by women of the steps involved in the promotion system. Men are able to use the system to their better advantage. Another clue is the fact that women appeared to need the support of a mentor in order to advance. Greater confidence could result in more women advancing up the promotion ladder.

From the male point of view the changes in social climate and the greater incidence of married women working, have enabled men to 'level off' in their careers and be freed from the constant need to move for promotion. Many of the men interviewed expressed a desire to spend time with their young families and pursue some of their own interests. They saw promotion as something which was not to be striven for to the exclusion of family and personal life.

While a career break for child rearing still continues to put women behind men in terms of length of service, a few women have shown that it is possible to have a family and become a deputy-principal or principal in either service. These case studies have shown some of the perceived constraints which operate (against women more than men) and have provided some clues to why men continue to advance in the system more than women. The current questionnaire survey of a five per cent sample of primary and secondary teachers will provide further information from which more soundly based generalisations can be made.

APPENDIX

Table 1: Teachers Interviewed by School Type

PRIMARY

	Full Primary			Contributing			Intermediate		
	M	F		M	F		M	F	
Main Urban	1	2		1	1		5	3	
Other Urban	-	-		1	2		1	1	
Rural	3	3		-	-		-	-	
	9			5			10		

SECONDARY

	Co-Ed			S/S Girls			S/S Boys		
	M	F		M	F		M	F	
Main Urban	3	4		1	2		2	1	
Other Urban	3	3		-	-		-	-	
Rural	3	2		-	-		-	-	
	18			3			3		

Table 2: Age Groups for Each Service

	Men	Women
Under 25 years	3	3
30 - 35 years	3	3
40 - 45 years	3	3
50 - 55 years	3	3
	12	12

Table 3: Status Positions of Teachers Interviewed

Primary

Principal	1	1 (Acting)
Deputy Principal	3	1
STJC	-	2
Senior Teacher B3 up	1	1
Senior Teacher B1 and B2	3	1 (Acting)
Assistant Teacher	4	6
	12	12

Secondary

Principal	1 (Acting)	1
Deputy Principal	1	1
Senior Master/Mistress	-	1
PR 3 and 4	-	1
PR 1 and 2	6	1
Assistant Teacher	4	7
	12	12